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Intelligence Chief Says—

EDUCATION IN RUSSIA MAY DEFEAT COMMUNISTS

CPYRGHT

Are the Communist doctrines laid down by Marx and Lenin being undermined by the new Soviet system of mass education?

That question is raised by an American who is particularly well placed to understand what is going on in the Soviet Union.

Allen W. Dulles, Director of the U. S. Central

Intelligence Agency, asserts that, by educating the people and making them think, the Soviet regime may be sponsoring a threat to its own existence.

Another view of the Soviet system of education, based on an on-the-spot survey, is given in an interview beginning on page 94.

by Allen W. Dulles

Director, U. S. Central Intelligence Agency

CPYRGHT

Scientific and technical education in the Soviet Union today presents a challenge to the free world. But mass education in the Soviet Union may well become a threat to their own Communist system of government.

The Soviets have two educational goals: first, to condition the Soviet people to be proper believers in Marxism-Leninism and to do the bidding of their rulers; second, to turn out the necessary trained technicians to build the military and industrial might of the U.S.S.R.

In the field of science, the Soviets have made rapid progress and their accomplishments here should not be minimized—least of all by those of us who are directly concerned with our national security. . . .

. . . The Soviet education system—in the sciences and engineering—now bears close comparison with ours, both in quality of training and in numbers of persons trained to a high level. At the university graduate level, we find that the entrance examinations for scientific work, at the top institutions, are about as tough as those required by our own institutions. Also, we have the evidence obtained from defectors, some of them recent, who were university graduates. Although these men have come over to us because of their detestation of the Soviet system, many of them still pay tribute to the technical quality of their education and appear to look back at least on this part of their lives with some pride.

As regards Soviet scientific manpower as a whole, the quality differs greatly from field to field. But, generally speaking, their top men appear to be

the equal of the top men in the West, though they have fewer of them, level for level. True, their biology has been warped by Soviet ideology, most conspicuously by heresies in the field of genetics, such as the doctrine that acquired characteristics are inherited. Also, their agricultural sciences have been backward, plagued like all of Soviet agriculture by the follies of the collective system. What farmer will go out into the middle of a cold Russian night to see what ails a state-owned cow?

In the physical sciences, there is little evidence of such political interference. Soviet mathematics and meteorology, for example, appear to be clearly on a par with those of the

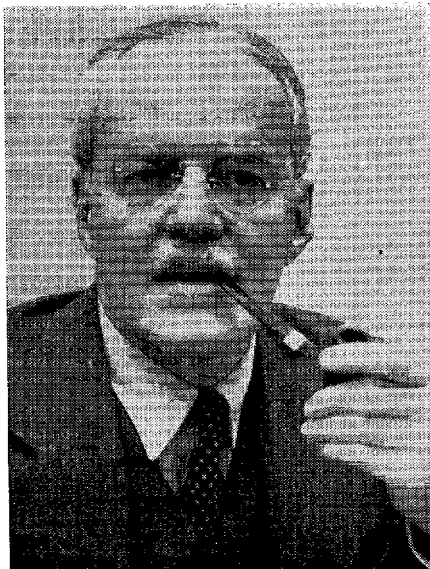
West, and even ahead in some respects. Military needs dominate their research programs. We who are in intelligence work have learned by now that it is rarely safe to assume that the Soviets do not have the basic skill, both theoretical and technical, to do in these fields what we can do. In fact, at times we have been surprised at their progress, above all in the aviation, electronic and nuclear fields. Certainly, the Russian's mind, as a mechanism of reason, is in no way inferior to that of any other human being.

. . . .

In time, with the growth of education—with more knowledge, more training of the mind, given to more people—this Soviet "man divided" must inevitably come to have more and more doubt about the Communist system as a whole.

In the past, we have sometimes had exaggerated expectations of dissensions within the Soviet and in other totalitarian systems. Our hopes have not per-

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—United Press

ALLEN W. DULLES

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... Democrat "must run on the Truman record"

Q: Is a Truman campaign an asset or a liability?

Mr. Nixon: I can say this: Usually, the longer a man is away from public office—it is a strange phenomenon—the more he gains in public tolerance.

Q: You are speaking of former President Hoover now?

Mr. Nixon: I haven't said this has happened to Mr. Truman yet. Whoever is nominated will have no choice except to run on the Truman record.

No Foreign-Policy Issue

Q: Will Trumanism, corruption and Communism be issues?

Mr. Nixon: No, I would say that that could not be indicated now. I believe that the probable major issue and major battleground will be on economic thinking and economic policies. I do not anticipate at this time that foreign policy will be an issue in 1956.

Q: Are you going to campaign for the Vice Presidency?

Mr. Nixon: I consistently decline to discuss any potential Republican candidates on the national level except the President. I can say that no one runs for the nomination of Vice President.

Q: I heard it said in relation to the McCarthy issue that when you strike a king you should be sure you kill him.

Mr. Nixon: The phrase is, as I recall it, that you must not strike a king unless you kill him. Politically, you could say you must not strike a President, a big man, a leader, unless you kill him, destroy him, defeat him. I think political history shows that, when you have a great issue and an individual decides to take on a top man, if he wins out on the issue he gains in popularity, he grows. It's always best in politics to fight someone above you, a top man. But when you make a frontal assault on somebody bigger, you'd better be sure you win. If you lose you are finished on that issue. I think in this instance that is what happened.

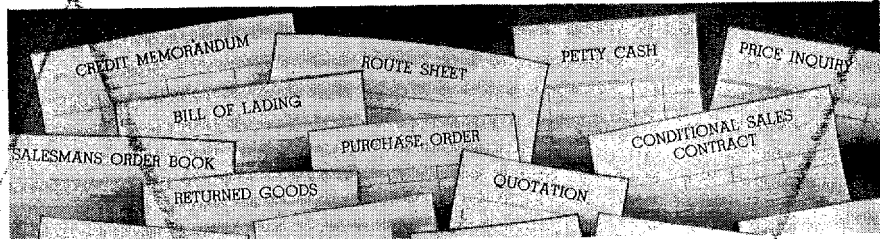
Q: Have you been in contact with Republican leaders? Do they believe the President is going to run, and on what do they base their assumptions?

Mr. Nixon: There is just currently a feeling of optimism among the Republican rank and file—a feeling of optimism that he is going to run. I can say on the other side of the coin that there has been nothing to discourage us on that respect.

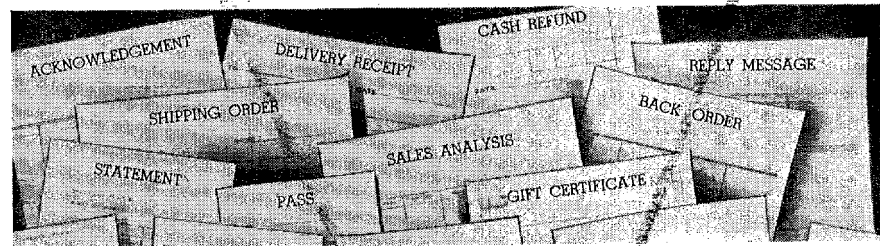
Q: Do you think he likes his job better than he did?

Mr. Nixon: I couldn't say. I couldn't speak for him. But, speaking as an individual, people seem to like to do things better as they become easier for them.

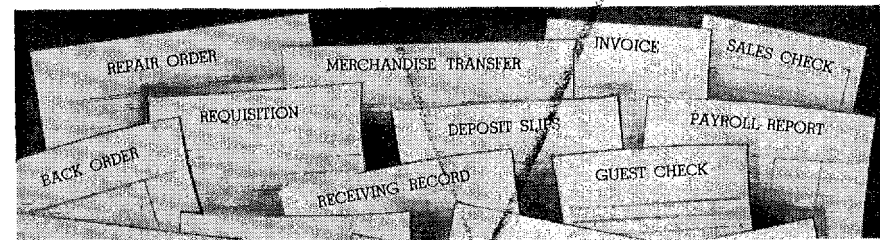
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"Karl Marx was not much of a farmer" . . .

haps been so much misguided as they have been premature. If we take a longer look, we can see the possibility of great changes in the Soviet system. Here the educational advances will play a major part.

There is already evidence of this. As I have said, the physical sciences are being freed of party-line restraints. Within the educational structure itself, the pressure to turn out good scientists and good engineers has caused a de-emphasis of the time spent on ideological subjects. The student engineer, while he still has to pass his courses in Marxism-Leninism, can increasingly afford to do a purely formal job in the ideological front if he is a good engineer.

In the last year, there have been interesting signs of this freedom spreading to other areas, notably to the biological and agricultural sciences. Lysenko is no longer gospel—I suspect for the very simple reason that his theories proved fallacious when used as the basis for new agricultural programs. The development of corn and of better wheat strains proved remarkably resistant to the teachings of Marx and Lenin—and, in the end, nature won the day. After all, Karl Marx was not much of a farmer. Now Moscow is looking toward Iowa.

So far, this is only a small straw in the wind. But it is a significant one. If freedom to seek truth can spread from the physical to the biological sciences, we can begin to look for signs of independence even in the hallowed sanctum of economics. Certainly, every year that the "decadent" capitalist system continues to avoid depression and to turn out more and more goods, even the most hardened Soviet economist must wonder about the accuracy of the Communist version of truth in this field.

Writers Get Off Easier

In cultural pursuits, the evidence is not all one-sided. Literature and even music are still subject to denunciation and criticism for not expressing the proper ideals. But clearly, here too, there has been some relaxation in the past two years. Recently, writers once denounced as "bourgeois" and "cosmopolitan" are being permitted to work again.

It is understandable that lasting freedom will come more slowly in economics and the humanities than where scientific matters—more open to proof—are involved. Ideology gives way most rapidly where it collides with fact.

In the future, education must inevitably

**"Education may prove
anything but a joke"**

on the part of the educated. Since higher education in Russia had historically been only for the few, not only in Tsarist times but until very recently in the Soviet era, there remains a strong tradition that a boy who graduates from secondary school will not work with his hands. Over the past two years, the Soviet press has repeatedly printed criticisms of students who refused to take factory jobs on the ground that they were beneath them. In all probability, the system is nearly at saturation point in the rate at which it can offer professional or white-collar jobs to secondary-school graduates.

Ultimately, however much the Soviets condition a man's mind, however narrowly they permit it to develop, and however much they seek to direct him after he is trained, they cannot in the end prevent him from exercising that critical sense that they, themselves, have caused to be created in him when they gave him an education. When Wendell Willkie visited the Soviet Union in 1942, he had a look at their school system. In a conversation at the Kremlin he remarked: "If you continue to educate the Russian people, Mr. Stalin, the first thing you know you'll educate yourself out of a job." This seemed to amuse the Soviet dictator mightily. Maybe it will prove to be anything but a joke for the Soviet rulers of the future.

For the Soviets face a real dilemma between the two goals of their education system: on the one hand, making well-conditioned members of a Communist state, and, on the other, turning out trained people capable of taking their places in a technically advanced society. In some degree, this dilemma has been present since the Soviets took the crucial decisions in the 1930s to go all out for trained technical manpower. It must become more acute in the future.

More Brains—More Trouble

The rise in numbers of trained people is only beginning to reach its peak, at a time when the picture for all Soviet citizens is one of somewhat greater hope and expectation, and when change is in the wind in many ways. The broadening of the educational base within, the contacts with the outside world, the uncertainty in the high governmental command and the absence of a dictator—all force the Soviet Union toward compromises.

With these compromises, comes the inevitable admission that the Soviet Marxist-Leninist system is not the only permissible way of life . . .

Can the Soviets give their people a

(Continued on page 127)



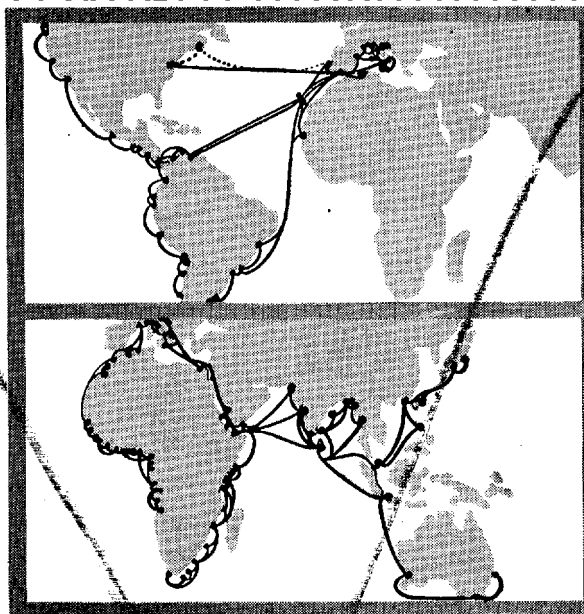
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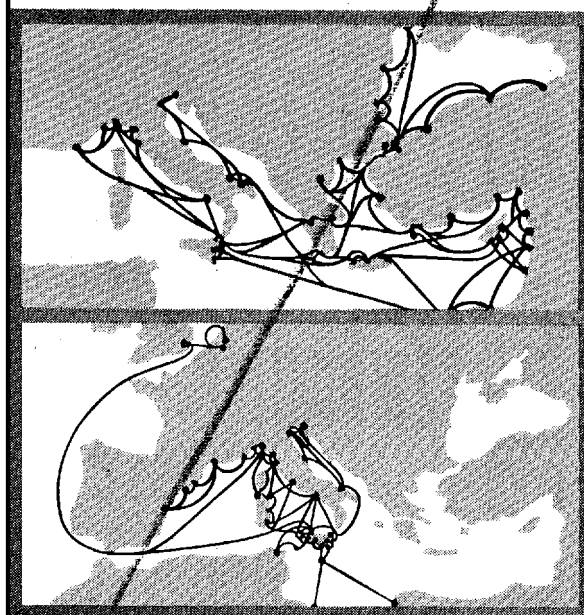


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... "Half-educated men: fodder for totalitarianism"

better material education and still keep them from wanting more and from thinking more on lines such as these? I do not think we can easily give the answer in point of time, but one can say with assurance that, in the long run, man's desire for freedom must break any bonds that can be placed around him.

Possibly for a time the Soviets will go forward, using their educational system as a sorting device for human assets. Half-educated men—all fact and no humanity—may still be good fodder for totalitarianism. Possibly the Soviet leaders will encounter problems for which they will seek the solutions by foreign adventures. But there remains the possibility that newly created wants and expectations, stimulated by education and perhaps by more exposure to the West, will in time compel great and almost unpredictable changes in the Soviet system itself.

New Purges Less Likely

Once or twice before this present peace-and-coexistence offensive, the Soviet seemed to start toward adjustment of its system to the facts of life in the outside world; first in the latter years of the war, and possibly again in 1946. These starts were quickly followed by a dropping of the Iron Curtain, by repressions, purges and a return to the rigid Stalinist line. Then the Soviet had a dictator, and it's hard to dictate without one. Today they have a committee in which the Soviet people themselves are not clearly told who is boss. Also today, the Soviets have gone much further than before toward introducing into their system the leaven of education, which makes a return to the Dark Ages far more difficult than in the past.

I would not be bold enough to predict that the Soviet might not attempt to return to the rigidity of a Stalinist regime. I do predict that this would be no easy task. In introducing mass education, the troubled Soviet leaders have loosed forces dangerous to themselves. It will be very difficult for them henceforth to close off their own people from access to the realities of the outside world.

A hard choice faces the perplexed, and probably unharmonious, group of men in the Kremlin. They lead a people who surely will come to realize the inevitability of the great precept: "And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

The foregoing extracts are from a Commencement Day address delivered last June by Allen Dulles at Columbia University, New York. See also article on page 24 on education in Russia.